2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude. She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sorrowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrapping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation, they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village, continually thinking of escape. This subject was never out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun, I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[1]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms.

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain

[1] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias.

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ti'ri?aiwapi*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 [591] [576] *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have
154 voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek
756 Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the
[465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient.
[465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing
756 to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing
321 should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present
376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The
775 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on
756 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,
574
[195]
[514]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Ritual payments: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison–advisor. This approach ritual payment consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-a! Hi-hites Para-da-de-a!"* They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-a!"* Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a*. Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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In about a year the Rock Island Railroad came, and they wanted 000
to build only one bridge instead of two. So, only a few feet below Ca-vo-yo's ford, they built a bridge to take their track across Cache Creek. More years passed, and now a splendid highway bridge spans the creek, just below the spot where the now discarded railroad bridge's sawed-off piling marks its once useful evistence. Ca-vo-yo's little T-shaped house also remains.

I was courting my first sweetheart when the ford went into use. Her people lived about two and a half miles east of Ca-vo-yo's house, and our town was about two and a half miles northwest of the ford. The Girl and I used his ford many times. We each had a good riding horse, and often we were horseback. Then by diligence I rated a buggy. (It didn't have a top, but we didn't mind; we were in love.) Ca-vo-yo didn't have an arbor, and if the weather was at all clement, he and his woman would be sitting on the east porch when we went by. We would smile and wave gaily to the old Indian and his [574]
woman, and they would return our smiles and our waves. With slight variations this scene was repeated many times.

One Sunday afternoon, following an afternoon church service, we were returning to her parents' home. While I held the lower gate 609
open for the Girl to drive the buggy through, I saw Ca-vo-yo come 198
out, open the upper gate, and lay it back. Knowing he wanted to talk, when I drew even with him I stopped the horse. Smiling his widest smile, the old fellow approached the buggy and by the means of signs and the use of one word asked, "Is she your wife (squaw)?" Apparently he and his woman were becoming curious, since they didn't understand white man's courting. Probably, to them, we were wasting a lot of time.

When you try to describe the sign language (*maw-ta-quoip* or hand talk), it sounds jerky and disconnected. Instead it had a natural grace and flow, like unhurried water making its way over a well-worn course. The old Indian extended his right fist, closed loosely, knuckles up, in front of us. Quickly extending his forefinger toward the Girl, and as quickly closing the finger back, he extended the thumb pointing to my chest. Then he said the word "squaw" as a question--literally, "She your squaw?"

I didn't look toward the Girl. I am sure she was blushing, as I 000
know I was. I finally managed to shake my head and stammer out a "No," as I drove away. In due time the Girl and I managed to resume